E/ECA/ICPP/90/27

UNITED NATIONS
Economic Commission for Africa

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN BURKINA FASO: CONTRIBUTION OF THE PEASANT SOCIETY

by
Barry Koumba, Lecturer
Department of History, University of Ouagadougou

LC/NAIROB

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN THE RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN AFRICA

12-16 February 1990
Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania

E/ECA/ICPP/90/27

UNITED NATIONS
Economic Commission for Africa

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN BURKINA FASO: CONTRIBUTION OF THE PEASANT SOCIETY

by
Barry Koumba, Lecturer
Department of History, University of Ouagadougou

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN THE RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN AFRICA

12-16 February 1990
Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania

METHODOLOGY

This paper is being presented to the International Conference on Popular Participation in the Recovery and Development Process in Africa. Its purpose is to analyze the experience acquired in Burkina Faso, the existing participation machinery and the role that women can play in it. To carry out the study, the writer traveled to the provinces to meet with officials of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) now increasingly known as voluntary development organizations (VDOs), and to meet women at their work places. Further documentation was received in the form of NGO annual report and general information documents.

1. Interviews

In order to secure a better appreciation of the scope of popular participation in Burkina Faso, officials of VDOs conducting women's activities were interviewed. Cases in point were the Association of Widows and Orphans of Burkina Faso, Sahel-Canada Solidarity, ATD 1/4 monde, the Pan-African Institute in West Africa (IPD/AOS), the Centre d'études sociales et economiques de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CESAO) and women working with such groups as the women's craft project, the "Naam" group and the kaya forest growers.

2. Mission travel

The author travelled to visit women's associations in the provinces of Houe (Bobo Dioulasso), Ratenga (Ouahigouya) and Sanemintenga (Kaya).

INTRODUCTION

Burkina Faso is a land-locked country classified among the poorest on the planet (with a per capita income of less than $US 200). Most of the problems (rural poverty, food deficit, external indebtedness, population pressure, rural-urban drift, ecological imbalance and political instability) undermining the growth and development of African countries affect Burkina Faso. Per capita consumption of food items is diminishing, worsening the undernourishment and malnutrition of substantial segments of the population, particularly women and children. To cope with this situation, increasing amounts of food have to be imported and this is weighing more and more on the balance of payments.

Such adverse circumstances can be attributed to a whole range of factors such as an agricultural pricing policy which favours urban consumers rather than the mainly rural producers; a structural decline of yields because of over-exploitation of the soil and insufficient rainfall which has been the cause of major migratory movements to the coastal countries, Côte d'Ivoire in particular.

Like other African countries, Burkina Faso would never have experienced so much external solicitude to analyze and examine all these constraints and to propose appropriate solutions. Many experts advocated in the 1970s two development concepts: the accordance of priority to the social dimension of economic development or the basic need approach which took cultural values into account in addressing basic needs, and the upgrading of agricultural pricing within an environment where market forces were allowed free play without State intervention.

Both ideas run into serious difficulties during their implementation. The capacity of African countries to promote development continues to weaken because the development patterns proposed had been implemented in ways which marginalize the rural world in terms of its assumption of responsibility and participation in decision making. One of the main reasons for many failures of development activity arise from this fact and the consequence is increasing poverty. The various concepts

will have to be reviewed in order to gain a better insight into development. The field activities and experience of international organizations, VDOs and economic intelligence centres call for a new approach to the issue. Accordingly, in 1986, the United Nations organized a special session devoted to the critical economic situation in Africa. In the action reforms of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development (1986-1990), stress was laid on popular participation. At its forty-third regular session in 1988, the United Nations General Assembly conducted a mid-term review of the implementation of the UN-PAAERD and advocated that greater account should be taken of popular participation in development programmes.

Definition of the concept

Participatory development is a process of creative evolution directed by organized people who are aware of who they are. The people have to date been kept at a distance from any possiblity of working out and participating in their social development.

Participation is the key element in the perception of human development as the process whereby individual creativity can be unleashed. As everywhere else in West Africa, Burkina Faso has had many experiences in participatory development. Through those experiments, concepts have been developed for use as a frame of reference. IPD/AOS and CESAO are thinking out ways of participatory development that will enable communities to assume greater control in planning and deciding the way they want to progress. Such an approach elicits local initiative as the best means of participation in development.

In 1988 one IPD document referred to the need for drawing a distinction between spontaneous participation as practised in traditional community life and participation which specifically brings in foreign expertise into the life of communities and which would be an endeavour to mobilize and empower the peasantry.

From the exercise, it was found that the primary concerns undeniably occurred at three levels: educating or creating awareness; decision-making or autonomy; and achievement of results.

Participation can also be defined as a development process in which the initiative comes back to the people coming together as a group to conduct surveys and activities which enable them to improve their situation. Such initiatives are at times taken spontaneously by the people. More often, they are stimulated and supported by others. It would now be appropriate to see how this occurs in Burkina Faso.

I. THE DYNAMICS OF COMMUNITY LIFE IN BURKINA FASO

During the pre-colonial period, the peasants of Burkina Faso like many other African peasants, lived in communities. Traditionally, solidarity was the basis of village life. What this meant is that all activities were based on mutual assistance. Such mutual assistance created and consolidated social relations. The colonial economic policy introduced new forms of organization aimed at better exploitation of resources. The post-colonial era was characterized by rapid deterioration of the living conditions of rural people resulting in development actions being embarked upon. These actions which did not always conform to the traditional structures, led to the establishment of new organizations which were called: village groups, pre-co-operative groups, village associations and other forms of co-operatives. Despite the institution of traditional structures and modern forms of organization, many unknowns remain with regard to the socio-demographic aspect of the human factor.

1. Socio-demographic aspects of the human factor in the process of participatory development

As the decisive factor in any development approach, the human factor acquires particular importance because of the severity of the physical environment in Burkina Faso. Yet, it is in this physical environment that the socio-economic development of the country is being articulated. Throughout the history of the country, its men and women have proved themselves equal to the difficult conditions imposed by nature. Observation of their daily lives reveals various forms of originality reflected in the techniques which enable them to confront the rigours or advantages of the natural environment. Today, integrated in the same political system, inherited from the unrelenting efforts of the colonial system to reorganize them under one common administration, these people live under the influence of two factors which are the root and bedrock of participatory development, namely population pressure which is difficult to assess and dependence on the agrarian civilizations of old.

It seems impossible to give any precise figures on the population and its distribution for three vital reasons: the unorganized nature of civil registration, the lack of social parameters for conducting population counts and the unwillingness of the people to be registered and numbered. Most often some urban centers have facilities for undertaking systematic birth and death registration. Elsewhere, the establishment of new primary health posts (PSP) should make for the improvement of deficiencies in the existing system, opening it up extensively to the control of government officials who would work closely with the people. These examples show the inadequacy of population data, which need to be judiciously analyzed, particularly when dealing with the main aspects of distribution and diversities. A careful comparison of the official figures reveals some interesting facts. It shows that the rural population are numerically much more than town dwellers. In 1985, the population was estimated at 8 million including 7 million residents, representing an average density of 29 inhabitants per km². The spatial distribution of this population indicates, on the other hand, that the rural population account for 80 per cent of the total as against 20 per cent for town dwellers. Leaving aside the town dwellers, it seems that population distribution is not dependent only on natural conditions related to the soil and the climate. One thing is obvious and it is that the peasant societies in Burkina Faso have neither the same concepts of relationship between man and the land nor the same social organization nor behaviour vis-à-vis the monetary economy, religion and the new post-colonial political structures. As such, it seems difficult to pick out the determinant factors in popular participation. The natural homogeneity does not translate into social homogeneity. However, some common features exist, including dependence on the old agrarian civilizations. Such homogeneity does not, however, mean uniformity of socio-cultural affinity among the major ethnic groups, namely the Mossi, Bobo, Djoula, Samo, Lobi, Grunshie, Grumanche and Fulani. These diversities are at the origin of the various rural development approaches spanning a wide range of widely diversified civilizations. If the people of Burkina Faso produce grain by necessity, they are also animal herders by vocation. Over and above the agro-pastoral distinction, there is a convergence of civilizations which derive from the use of similar production techniques and in the way the environment and human resources are managed. However the distinctions weigh heavily on contemporary development both at the socio-cultural and socio-political levels, a phenomenon exemplified by the Moaga and Lobi societies. The former inherited very hierarchical and highly compartmentalized social organization for ensuring the durability of the political structure, from its initial orientation while the latter has manifested throughout its history a fidelity to its acephalous political organization, coupled with the unflinching will for independence and social equality. From organizational system, the Lobi society has developed a climate of social equality and a rejection of

constraining hierarchy. Contacts with highly expansionsit societies has politically weakened the Lobi society.

The other common feature which emerges from the mosaic of behaviour is the availability of the labour force, namely group participation as shown in the establishment of the Régie de chemin de fer Abidjan–Niger (RAN) (the Abidjan–Niger Railway Authority), in the war effort and in the active participation in the plantation economy of Côte d'Ivoire during the colonial period. The mental attitude of people towards community life is a major asset in participatory development. It is a vital aspect in economic growth but has one limitation in so far as the development of popular participation cannot be reduced to the single dimension of the readiness of the people. Popular participation also calls for the integration of tradtional forms of organization in modern forms of organization.

2. Traditional association and modern association

In the absence of a detailed inventory of tradtional associations within each society, it is worth noting those associations whose impact on work on the land has guaranteed success. Examples of these are in the Moaga society, particularly in the Yatenga region, where the persistent authority of the family cells has promoted the emergence of security groups against calamities and scourges, including the "Naam" groups which constitute production units. Elsewhere, the **song–taaba**, the **so–soaga** and the **ko–taaba** groupings are dynamic sources of mutual assistance and incentive to work. The **song–taaba** is a mutual assistance association; the **so–soaga** is an association which provides assistance to anyone soliciting such assistance and the **ko–taaba** organizes mutual assistance for farm work involving from two to a maximum of four production units.

This type of mutual assistance calls upon all the active population of the production units concerned and those who require such assistance cater for the participants. Generally, the associations are renewed annually and in thelong run helps to consolidate social links among the various members. The willingness of younger members to submit to the authority of the family head remains the basis of social chesion. In such societies, the compound is the basic unit. A compound may be defined as a dwelling unit which houses members of the same family and comprises one or several households. Generally, the household is constituted by one married man with his spouse or spouses, their children, family members and other still distant relatives.

The members of a compound or a household who work together constitute an economic unit, in other words, a production and consumption unit. The general population census in 1975 gave the number of compounds as 503,603 and the number of households as 972,971. The size of compounds increases with the age of the head, who in 96 per cent of cases is a man. Thus, while the average size of a compound is 6.8 persons for those headed by a person aged 15 to 19 years, the figure for compounds headed by people aged 60 and over is 22.9. The average number of people per compound and per household is 11.5 and 6.2 respectively. These global figures include very wide regional disparities. Polygamy is widespread and the social status of a head farmer increases with the number of people under his authority. Controlling the mobility of women, the source of production and reproduction of the labour force, confers a certain amount of power on the elders. Agricultural activities require abundant manpower due to the low level of technology in this area. The Burkina Faso society is still dominated by men just like most other agrarian societies.

In the transition from traditional forms of community life to modern forms of community life, the process of assimiliation of the former by the latter does not occur

judiciously. Problems of the co-existence of pre-colonial and post-colonial structures emerge and have to be dealt with expediently. Awareness of the imbalance in the traditional society and of its consequences has not led to the conception of new forms of associations, capable of overcoming the contradictions which have resulted from the evolution of traditional societies. Political statements on development are made up largely of wait-and-see tactics rather than positive initiatives in favour of rural folk. In the pre-colonial era as in the present day, the formation of associations seem to have been in reponse to prevailing problems. Although some political efforts have been made albeit incidental, they have not been stringent enough to overcome the structural difficulties in participatory development.

The peasant society has valuable production techniques, but it is devoid of ideological motivation and adequate political structure. This situation can be better illustrated through the study of initiatives taken by certain "target" groups such as rural youth and peasant women.

2 WOMEN'S INITIATIVE IN PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT

The major development problems which afflict the people of Burkina Faso, namely food deficit, desertification, insufficient health facilities, illiteracy and high population growth can only be overcome through the participation of the majority of its people, i.e., women. Women whom some authors have referred to as the "other half of the sky" play a very important role in Burkina Faso. As rural exodus involves mostly economically active males, the imbalance in the sex-ratio in favour of women (51.7 per cent of the total population) is even more pronounced among the potentially active resident population who make up 52.1 per cent of the total population. Women are not only the majority in terms of numbers, but are more importantly the economic and social backbone of Burkina Faso society through their various socio-economic activities.

2.1 Activities of women's groups: mobilization and participation

Women of Burkina Faso are mobilized and organized either to defend the particularly vulnerable categories of the population through groups such as the Association of Widows and Orphans of Burkina Faso, and women's mutual assistance groups; to conduct community economic activities through women's community development associations adn handicrafts co-operatives for the women of Burkina Faso or to conduct training or literacy campaigns through the **rata-manégre** co-operatives and the associations of Zabre women.

The women are closely assocated with the various activities and are thereby able to improve their living conditions, although they are very often marginalized through certain discriminatory traditional considerations. The Association of Widows' and Orphans' of Burkina Faso is a Voluntary Development Organization (VDO) inaugurated on 20 January 1977 at the initiative of Mrs. D. Kabore. It has 545 widows and orphans and undertakes economic activities such as handicrafts, farming, credit facilities, small-scale trading and provides training for its members. The Ouagadougou social centre co-ordinates the activities in the other provincial centres of Bobo, Gaoua and Tougan. In 1989, about 60 women obtained personal credits of CFAF 25,000 for petty trading in fruits adn vegetables. In addition, a collective farm was built with the assistance of the Voluntary Development Organization, the Sahel-Canada Solidarity.

In the rural areas where 90 per cent of the women live, there are several women's viliage groupings. The "Naam" women's group has nearly 90,000 members at present, distributed in several rural areas of the country. Out of a total of 162,015

members, women account for 55 per cent. The mode of operation of this group is modelled on that of the **moaga** traditional associations characterized by democracy and equality. These groups were founded between 1966-67 by Mr. B.L. Ouedraogo (recently awarded the Hunger Project Prize for his efforts) who tried to reactivate this traditional structure by adapting it to current development needs.

The originality of these groups derive from the fact that they admit both male and female members and also from their democratic and participatory philosophy. The Swiss "Six S" VOD (se servir de la saison sèche en savane et au Sahel) (make use of the dry season in the savannah and in the Sahel) provides support to the "Naam" group. Economic activities engaged include the establishment of cereal banks, purchase of mills, cultivation of market gardening plots, domestic animal husbandry, preservation of produce by drying, soap making, production of textiles and objets d'art. These activities are carried out throughout the country and the people are increasingly interested in them as shown in the following table:

Year	No. of groups	Members	Men	Women
1966	3	150	72	78
1967	5	250	120	130
1968	14	700	336	364
1969	15	750	360	390
1976	124	6 200	2 976	3 224
1983	1 024	6 120	24 576	25 524
1984	1 500	7 500	36 000	39 000
1986	1 630	99 590	28 400	52 290
1987	2 453	151 910	70 290	84 475
1988	2 891	166 402	77 347	88 855
1989	2 768	161 013	71 708	89 301

Source: Data extracted from the following reports:

Ouedraogo, L.B., Rapport du sécrétariat exécutif au Conseil d'administration, 1985-1986.

Ouedraogo, M., Rapport de stage effectué à l'association 6 "S" du 2 mai au 31 octobre 1989 a Ouahigouya.

Ilboudo, S., Rapport de stage du 4 juillet au 4 septembre 1988 aux 6 "S" Ouahigouya.

However, not all the women's activities are adequately followed up. This has led to the failure of some projects including the women's handicrafts project in the Comoé province, which involved 100 women, and the project on the breeding of the **sourgoubila** choice breed of pigs. It seems that these failures have occurred because of the rush with which the projects had been implemented, without allowing for preliminary studies and sensitization of the people to the project, among other things.

Through interviews with these women, it became clearly obvious that they were strongly determined to collectively solve the problems confronting them. All the more so, as most of them had joined the association following difficulties encountered in the home, for instance, desertion of the family by the husband and inability to meet expenses on food, hospital fees, children's school fees, etc. As a result of the difficulties facing them, the women are obliged to safe guard their new-found life. Generally, the groups start locally and spontaneously and are then gradually integrated in the "Naam" Association.

2.2 The benefits of projects and OVDs to women

The Voluntary Development Organizations (VDOs) prefer to support organized groups, which take responsibility for their own development. As such, they do not operate within the same activity and project areas as village communities and governments, but assist village organizations to take initiative within the scope of the objectives defined by the Government in the National Plan. Most often, VDOs do not propose projects but provide assistance in project design and implementation, with the approval of the Government, in areas such as the construction of schools or clinics or the cultivation of market gardening plots. The aim of the VDOs is to raise the awareness of peasant organizations of their responsibility in the development process and assist them to assume this responsibility. This objective has limited their intervention with women, who face difficulties with respect to mobilization; the VDOs have thus made very little impact in this regard.

The projet economie familiale (PEEF) supported by a German agro-action VDO and another German project CILSS (PAC) is under way in the Djibo region in northern Burkina Faso. The project which aims to promote women through women's groups, consists in assisting the women in their activities of collective farming, market gardening, small-scale animal husbandry and handicrafts (making of baskets, carpets, blankets and other decorative items for the house). About a hundred women's groups are involved in these activities which is becoming a major attraction for all the women in the region.

The Association Vive la Paysanne (AVLP) is a peasant association founded between 1979-1980 by about a dozen youth from Sapone, a town located some 30 km from the capital city. The AVLP undertakes important and widely varied activities in the advancement of women including literacy and general education programmes, installation of mills, building of carts for transporting water, improved homes, cheap catering services, gathering of sweet almonds, excursions and visits to other groups.

These various activities are always carried out together with men, who most often are also interested in the advancement of the family. However, certain traditional obstacles still impede the effectiveness of the actions taken and erode the expected results.

2.3 Institutions of Burkina Faso and women

The condition of women in sub-Saharan Africa deteriorated markedly over the past 20 years. The United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985) thus led African Governments to take a stand in favour of women. In Burkina Faso, the People's Democratic Revolution (RDP) has expressly indicated its firm political will to attain economic and social development with the full involvement of women. Back in October 1985, the Discour d'orientation politique (DOP) (Political Guidance Statement) spelt out the role of women in the RDP by stating that in changing the social order that oppressed women, the revolution had created conditions for their genuine emancipation, conditions which would enable them to assume their responsibility and engage their involvement in productive activities and in the various battles facing the people.

In the 1986-1990 five-year plan, improvement of the status of women figues as one of the seven basic components of the development strategy. The establishment of the Union des femmes du Burkina Faso (UFB), a political structure which mobilizes women at the village, district, provincial and national levels, was considered to a significant landmark. The remedial process embarked upon since 15 October has been targeted at carrying through this orientation and to give priority to development

actions and requirements initiated by women. In November 1985, the family bill was adopted and this has led to many injustices, inherited from traditional and feudal practices being remedied. Some of the new laws which have been passed include consecration of monogamy as a common right of marriages, freedom in the choice of a spouse, exercise of parental authority, right of inheritance of a surviving spouse, a minimum of 17 years for the marriage of girls, abolition of levirate, the practice of giving a widow in marriage to the brother of her dead husband, and sororate which consists in giving the younger sister of a dead woman to her widower.

At the moment, Burkina Faso is the Sahelian country with the most comprehensive Family Law. The major remaining problem, however, is the effective application of this legislation in the rural areas where customary and other practices, illiteracy, isolation and poverty constitute substantial obstacles to its application.

CONCLUSION

The study on popular participation in Burkina Faso points to a favourable socio-cultural climate. In fact, the historical experience of the largest ethnic group in the country, the Mossi, in the organization of traditional associations, based on democratic and egalitarian participation of members, is a major asset in implementation of popular participation in the country. Many VDOs have patterned their activities along the lines of such associations with a view to promoting original forms of development. The "Naam" groups which are found throughout the country are striking example of the economic achievements that can be made through such organization, for example, the promotion of small-scale domestic animal husbandry, drying and preservation of perishable foods, processing of raw materials into consumer goods, soap making, weaving and basket making, as well as social activities such as literacy programmes, training and information according to the needs of participants.

The example of the "Naam" groups, supported by the six "S" VDOs could serve as on basis for the formation of similar groups in other countries. Some neighbouring countries already have groups similar to the "Naam". One example of these is the **Samanis** in the Niger.

A detailed study of this type of association will, no doubt make it possible to design a co[illegible]pment-wide strategy for better integration of women, who are most often marginalized [illegible] the economic and decision-making processes.

The study has shown that considerable gains have been made with respect to the participation of the women of Burkina Faso in development. The image of women in the groups or associations in the country has been enhanced, and the system of external intervention is developing greater responsibility among the people concerned. In spite of the dynamism of some women's groups, a lot of effort still needs to be deployed in terms of literacy education for women, who have the lowest literacy rate, with enrolment in primary schools of 37 per cent, secondary schools 31.6 per cent and in higher education 23.9 per cent. This imbalance is even more accentuated in the rural areas. Intensive functional literacy campaigns are needed to ensure rational management of participatory development.

In Burkina Faso, the problem is not one of the integration of women in development, in the sense indicated by some authors, but rather a question of technology transfer, access to available funds, training of women and promotion of viable autonomous structures such as women's groups and co-operatives.

However, the major development problems of the country cannot be solved without taking into account the main socio-economic agents, namely women and the youth who are often relegated to the sidelines in decision-making in traditional societies.

REFERENCES

1. Interviews conducted with SPONG and VDO Officials:

   - SAWADOGO Robert: Executive Secretary of SPONG
   - BILA Hubert: Project Officer for Solidarite Canada Sahel
   - ZERBO: Project Co-ordinator for "Band Aid"
   - Mme. KABORE Dominique: Founder of the Association of Widows and Orphans of Burkina Faso.
   - VENARD: Project Officer of ATD 4 World.
   - MAIGA I.M.: Deputy Director of IPD/AOS
   - SAWADOGO Mathias: CESEAO
   - Mme SNOY Odette: CESEAO
   - Mme DIAO Rabiatou: Women's Craft Project
   - SAWADOGO Justin: Six "S"
   - Mme SAWADOGO Asseton: Leader of the Soap Making Project of the "Naam"
   - Interviews conducted on 24 November 1989 with about 30 women from the various "Naam" groups.

2. Documentation

   (a) Atelier régional de formation de formateurs pour la participation et le developpement. ILO workshop organized in collaboration with UNDP from 3 to 15 July 1989 at CESAO Bobo Dioulasso, Burkina Faso.

   (b) Compte rendu d'un atelier regional de formation pour le developpement rural participatif auto-promotion et particiption populaire. ILO, Tagaytay, the Phillipines from 15 to 28 August 1988.

   (c) CESEAO, AVV, UFIO: Etude en vue de la promotion féminine dans la zone Po Ouest dans le Bougouriba, Bobo Dioulasso. CESEA p.171.

   (d) Report of GOMI C'O D.A : La communication dans le cadre du développement participatif. Mission undertaken from 21 November to 20 December 1986 UNDP/TCTD Planning Assistance.

   (e) ILBOUDO, Susane: Rapport de stage du 4 juillet au 4 septembre 1988 au 6 "S".

   (f) OUEDRAOGO, P.L., Rapport du secretariat exécutif au conseil d'administration annee 1985-1986, p.218.

   De l'association traditionnelle a Kombi-Naam a l'association internationale 6 "S".

(g) OUEDRAOGO, M. Rapport de stage effectué à l'association 6 "S" du 2 mai au 31 octobre 1989 à Ouahigouya.

(h) PARE E. et DABIRE, B. Etude des besoins en formation des agents du plan de parrainage international de Kaya, aout 1983, p.29.

(i) SYAN F., Les ONG face au problème de la rémunération de la main d'oeuvre en milieu rural. Ministère du plan et de la coopération, BSONG, 1989.

(j) DAMIBA, M. Contribution à l'amélioration de l'élevage bovin de la vallée de la Nouaho: mise en place d'un programme de formation. Mémoire de fin d'etude IDR, 1989, p.70

(k) CURIS, R., Evolution anti-érosive en Haute Volta, Burkina Faso depuis l'independance vers une plus grande participation de la population, IES, Amstrdam, aout 1983, p. 84.

(l) EGGER, P. Des initiatives paysannes de développement en Afrique: une auto-évaluation de 5 excériences au Sénégal au Burkina Faso et au Rwanda, BIT, juillet 1988.

(m) HEMMINGS, G. Femmes gourmantché face au developpement. ENDA, Dakar 1981, p.21

(n) KABORE, R. Expérience de l'AVV en matière d'élaboration et d'exécution de projet régionaux et de développement intégré. Ouagadougou 1984-1985.

(o) PUTMAN, G. Notes sur la participation des femmes dans les projets de developpement au centre-nord. Kaya, ORD du centre-nord 1983, p.26

E/ECA/ICPP/90/28

UNITED NATIONS
Economic Commission for Africa

ANALYSIS ON THE REALITY OF POPULAR PARTICIPATION AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL: THE CASE OF CAMEROON

by
Emilienne Ngo Basse

LC/NAIROB

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN THE RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN AFRICA

12-16 February 1990
Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania

E/ECA/ICPP/90/28

UNITED NATIONS
Economic Commission for Africa

ANALYSIS ON THE REALITY OF POPULAR PARTICIPATION AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL: THE CASE OF CAMEROON

by

Emilienne Ngo Basse

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN THE RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN AFRICA

12-16 February 1990
Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania

In Cameroon, official speeches extensively and frequently refer to the people's participation in development. For an example, I would like to quote from a speech made by the President of the Republic on 4 November 1981 during the presentation of the Fifth Economic, Social and Cultural Development Plan (1981-1986) to the National Assembly:

> "To devise a policy that considers all aspects of national life ... presupposes that the guidelines of planning, just as the objectives and programmes that make up these plans, are discussed and prepared with the active participation of the people's assemblies which are the democratically elected institutions of the Nation".
>
> We have endeavoured ... thanks to a popular will that has adopted major national options set by the Government and mobilized itself towards their implementation ...".

This extract from a speech by the President contains the quintessence of the notion of popular participation in the development process. In fact, this teaches us that:

The definition of objectives, the planning and programming of projects, and their execution (since this is implied) must include the acceptance and mobilization of the people. Unfortunately, acceptance and mobilization are needed for major options made by the Government and not by the people.

Since popular participation is an ambiguous theme, many discrepancies and contradictions impede it from being mobilized for development.

The point at issue is the type of development the people in which participate.

We can accept F. Perioux's definition of the concept because it tallies with ours. According to him, development is a combination of the attitudinal and social changes which make people aptable of increasing their real global product in a cumulative and lasting manner.

Development is therefore a set of transformations which affect behaviour, integrate knowledge-development, improve skills, industrial know-how, and change anticipations accumulatively.

Development is therefore a cumulative and lasting change of various economic sectors that are reflected in such coefficients as the industrial sector's share in GDP; capital used per worker and added value per wage earner.

Socially, development can be measured by indicators: number of inhabitants per medical doctor, literacy rate, percentage of patents deposited, number of films shot by nationals, etc...

In Cameroon, one of the major options of Government action is self-reliant development, that is, development by man and for man. It may be wondered whether man, in this sense, refers to the governor or the governed. Furthermore, in order to ascertain the degree of popular participation in development, it is necessary that we analyze existing mechanisms, procedures used, experiences.

The findings from such an analysis will enable us to appraise the level of popular participation in development. If this is inadequate, then it will be necessary to determine the causes and consequences of these attitudes before proposing the ways and means that are likely to lead to the set objective.

On the whole, this paper shall be divided into three parts, namely: description, analysis and prospects.

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

The institutional framework constitutes of all the tools and practices used to enable most people to participate, effectively, in the design, preparation and execution of development projects either within or outside five year development plans.

Here, it should be pointed out that immediately after achieving independence, Cameroon opted for the planning of its development. The model of planning adopted was liberal, i.e indicative for the private sector and imperative for the public sector. In fact, planning has not been rigid even for the Government since for reasons such as efficiency expediency or need, the State has always succeeded to incorporate projects not included in plans into public capital budgets. More with regard to the private sector, the plan serves as a guideline, indeed, it provides broad directives which must guide development activities even though initiatives can be taken outside this framework. However, the plan is, effectively, the driving force behind major schemes and both the State and private individuals look to it extensively for guidance .

In order to achieve the objectives of these plans, the State has established a certain number of mechanisms and procedures, and the society, owing to circumstances, has established others.

A. Permanent mechanisms

Under this heading, we shall consider structures set up statutorily or through usage.

1. Development committees

(a) Set-up: definition

Development committees were set up by Decree No. 77/89 of 24 March 1977 at the level of each province, division, sub-division and district.

These committees are permanent organs for dialogue and consultations. They are mainly in charge of examining economic problems raised socially, by the development factor, defining the action to be taken so as to solve such problems and determining the specific modalities and areas for the people's participation.

(b) Composition

The provincial development committee is presided over by the Governor assisted by his Secretary-General. It comprises:

- Senior Divisional Officers;
- Presidents of the Party's sections and ancillary organs;
- Members of Parliament;
- Members of the Economic and Social Council;
- Presidents of divisional trade unions;
- Delegates and heads of provincial technical services.

The secretariat of the provincial development committee is run by the provincial delegate of the Plan.

The divisional development committee is presided over by the Senior Divisional Officer and assisted by his first Assistant. It comprises:

- Sub-divisional officers;
- District heads;
- Presidents of divisional trade unions;
- Government delegates to urban councils;
- Chairmen of councils and municipal administrators with divisional powers;
- Officials of divisional technical services.

The secretariat of the divisional development committee is run by the Divisional Delegate of the Plan.

Sub-divisional or district committees are presided over by sub-divisional officers or district heads depending on the case.

They comprise:

- Members of Parliament;
- Members of the Economic and Social Council;
- Mayors and municipal administrators;
- Presidents and secretaries of subsections and presidents of basic organs of the party and its auxiliary organs;
- Officials of local technical services;
- Traditional chiefs up to the level of groupings and regions.

The secretariat of the sub-divisional or district development committee is run by an official designated by the senior divisional officer.

(c) Terms of reference

Development committees are empowered to:

- Identify problems relating to the preparation and execution of the development plan;
- Hold a general debate on local development problems;
- List activities to be carried out;
- Define the means to be used in carrying out such activities;
- Determine the participation area of each social group concerned;
- Set up organs to assist in and control activities carried out within the framework of given directives.

Development committees meet twice a year in ordinary session. They may meet in extraordinary session when convened by their chairmen.

Their deliberations are held in camera, and at the end of such deliberations, reports, opinions and recommendations are drafted.

Each development committee submits a report on the conclusions of its deliberations to a higher committee and sends copies thereof to the Ministers of the Plan and Territorial (Internal) Administration.

Chairmen of provincial committee give an account of their deliberations to all development committees of their various administrative units.

The functions of a development committee member are non-remunerative; however, transport and lodging expenses incurred are refunded to members residing out of the venue of the meeting.

Development committees can, therefore, be likened to bodies through which the population can have their representatives express their views in decisions which affect the economic future of their area within a period of five years. These committees are, essentially, comprised of local representatives: Members of Parliament, mayors, municipal administrators, party officials, presidents of trade unions, in short, the people's real spokes-men.

Development committees which are official organs presided over by administrative authorities, hold periodic sessions. Governors, senior divisional officials and sub-divisional officers are expected, each one in his own sphere of authority, to report on such activities.

But then development committee sessions often look like forums since debates are less technical. Local representatives try hard to have the needs of their areas retained. Unfortunately, such needs do not reflect the aspirations of the people. Rather, they solve the problems of the elites.

2. Co-operatives

Co-operatives are groups of people with a common interest who undertake a venture wherein the managerial rights of each one are equal, and where profit is shared out in proportion to the activities of the associates. Cameroon, since independence, had encouraged co-operative movements in order to group and organize business transactors so as to enable them to solve their common problems, namely: purchases, sales, protection of rights. The essential objective of the co-operative movement is to make individuals responsible for their own destiny. It primarily concerns the rural area. In Cameroon, co-operatives are placed under the authority of the Ministry of Agriculture and most of them are agricultural.

Project designers worked from the premise that farmers who are rather isolated, less educated and poor, can hardly have their voice heard. If they are grouped together, organized and educated within organizations, then they can constitute pressure groups and hence participate in or influence the taking of certain decisions.

The co-operative movement has had many set-backs. However, the Government has not given up. Paradoxically however, the community spirit of traditional Africa has not fostered this movement. On the contrary, the most educated or the most cunning members or employees of co-operatives have exploited the ignorance of members. The failure of the co-operative movement in Cameroon is, principally, due to the financial mismanagement of co-operatives. The State has stepped up the training of co-operative members and has set up co-operative unions closely supervised by public authorities.

3. The Department of Community Development

The organizational chart of the Ministry of Agriculture under which community development falls, stipulates that the Department of Community Development shall define and implement policies which enable village communities to participate in the execution and maintenance of collective rural development projects. In this respect, the Department:

- Prepares and follows up programmes for the mobilization of the people towards the execution of projects of common interest;
- Organizes the population to carry out collective self-development activities;
- Educates and mobilizes the people to support the execution of projects and ensure their maintenance;
- Prepares training programmes for village leaders;

- Supervises programmes on community education and action centres.

Results of community development activities are very evident. These activities are sometimes highly appreciated. However, in Cameroon, the community development notion is more popular amongst the English speaking population. In the French-speaking area, this notion has just been recently introduced. Therefore, it is less developed.

4. CODEVIs, CODES and COGEST: of the Regional Development Company of the East Priority Actions Participation Zones, ZAPI

The regional development company of the East Priority Actions Participation Zones, ZAPI, whose motto was "progress through participation", sought, inter alia, to:

- Encourage the creation and operation of professional associations of producers;

- Train their members to assume their own share of responsibility in the management of the company and development zones;

- Determine conditions for the creation, organisation and operation of peasant farmers' structures.

In this regard, three types of organizations were set up at the level of villages and village groups:

- Village development committees (CODEVI);

- Village cluster development committees (CODES);

- Management committees (COGESTs).

(a) CODEVIs

The village is defined by administrative authorities as the CODEVIs' participation zone. However, neighbourhoods or administrative divisions of urban areas with rural characteristics can set up a CODEVI. This committee is an assembly of peasant farmers wherein men and women, the young and the old, meet to brainstorm and organize their development activities together. Indeed, it provides a permanent forum for the people to organize themselves and hold dialogues and consultations in matters of economic, social and cultural development.

CODEVIs seek to:

- Examine the structural and economic challenges of village development;

- Define actions to be carried out so as to solve such problems;

- Determine the modalities and the areas in which subsidies can be used;

- Propose any schemes and projects relating to economic, social and cultural development;

- Organize, generally, the development of the village.

Each CODEVI is headed by an Executive, the representative organ of the village. This Executive orientates and mobilizes the rural population so as to enable them to participate in the development process, and, specifically, in the establishment of plans for production, the marketing of products, the granting and reimbursement of loans, participation in a work-team, in a thrift and loan society etc....

(b) CODES

The Village Cluster Development Committees, CODES, are structures for participation and representation at the level of a cluster of villages. They are defined as development planning consultative councils at the level of village clusters. In this respect, they:

- programme activities relating to extension, training, marketing, loan-management, development of villages etc...

- participate in budget preparation;

- supervise the implementation of programmes prepared by grassroots supervisory officials;

- disseminate information to CODEVIs and COGESTs;

CODES hav two types of membership:

- Ordinary members: these are delegates elected by CODEVIs, two per CODEVI;

- Ex-officio members, namely: village cluster municipal councillors, representatives of political and religious authorities.

(c) COGEST

The management committees, COGESTs, are structures for participation and representation of the peasant farmer at the level of local development enterprises, LDE. They comprise ordinary members from CODES, ex-officio members who are administrative, political and religious authorities, and representatives of supervisory technical services.

COGESTs play the role of consultative committees in matters of development policy and planning at the level of the LDE so that ultimately, peasant farmers assume full control of the LDE. This role consists of :

- supervising the management of the LDE;
- supervising the implementation of programmes;
- amending and adopting the budget;
- determining the LDE loans and supplies policy;
- setting production objectives;
- discussing all problems relating to rural development within the LDE.

Results obtained by ZAPI of the East where CODEVIs, CODES and COGESTs operate, are rather unsatisfactory. Consequently, the notion of setting up village organizations has not been sufficiently tested.

5. Informal structures

Recently, many associations have been formed. These associations have the most varied appellations. But then those that are tribal are in the majority. According to the 1967 Decree which governs the setting up of associations in Cameroon, the latter, would be illegal since the above instrument forbids tribal associations. Paradoxically, Cameroon Tribune, the official daily, always fills its columns with announcements convening the said associations.

These associations bring together people or the elites from a given area. Some are known as village development committees. Effectively, they contribute to the development of their community by carrying out, with their own human and financial resources, projects of common interest in the area, through to their interventions or influence.

Members of these associations usually participate in official development committee meetings, mostly, at the level of the basic administrative unit which is either the sub-division or the district. The quasi-family relations are still very strong in these associations. In principle, at a higher level only those that are statutorily empowered attend meetings. This is because the text is strictly respected. The dynamism of village development associations varies from area to area. Generally speaking, they have quite an impact even though their members lack technical know how and their finances are meagre.

B. DEVELOPMENT PLAN PREPARATION PROCEDURES

Example: The Fourth Plan.

1. Characteristics

They are precarious and their duration corresponds just to the preparation period of a five-year plan. The preparation of the Fourth Five-Year Economic, Social and Cultural Development Plan (1976-1986) was launched by Presidential Circular No. 1/CAB/PRD of 7 January 1975 to lay down the procedures for its preparation.

The circular clearly stated that planning sought to strengthen national unity and implement the self-reliant development policy. Essentially, its preparation is done democratically. All the active forces of the Nation are consulted, mostly, through planning committees. The objective is to improve the people's living conditions. The Plan takes into account the specific problems of each province and relies, effectively, on local, provincial and national realities.

2. Structures

The plan is prepared at the national and provincial level by political, administrative and consultative set ups.

At the regional level, the following consultative bodies contribute:

- The provincial development council, consultative organ, assists the Governor in the preparation of the draft provincial plan;
- The divisional development committee assists the Senior Divisional Officer in the preparation of the divisional plan;
- The rural action committee, headed by the Sub-Divisional Officer, co-ordinates village committees which are the Plan execution units at the local level.

At the central level the following twelve committees have been set up to be responsible for:

- Rural economy;
- Industry - handicratts - mines and power - trade - transport - tourism;
- Communication and telecommunications infrastructures;
- Training - employment - youth - sports;
- Health and social affairs;
- Information - culture;
- Administrative equipment;
- Scientific research;
- Physical planning;
- Public finances;
- Structures and organization;
- Reporting.

3. Preparation stages

The Fourth Plan was prepared in three main phases. Phase One assessed the execution of the previous plan and the country's economic situation so as to bring out medium and long-term development trends and prospects. Furthermore, sectoral technical study groups considered sectoral problems and the basic development equilibria of the Nation.

During Phase Two, the sectoral study groups made sectoral projections, identified and prepared projects.

Phase Three was devoted to deliberations of committees. Provincial committees met first. Their deliberations led to the drafting of preliminary provincial plans which were transmitted to the national level. National committees then met to consider national sectoral plans and preliminary provincial plans. Finally, these committees brought out sectoral objectives and assessed the human and financial resources needed to achieve them.

In concrete terms, preparatory meetings which brought together heads of services, local administrative authorities, representatives of the people and various economic sectors, were held, chronologically, in districts, sub-divisions, divisions, provinces and, finally, at the central level.

During these meetings, an integrated development programme was established. It took into account the potentialities of each area, and identified local resources likely to contribute to the implementation of such a programme.

Programmes approved at the level of sub-divisions were harmonized and put together at the divisional level. Similarly, divisional programmes were evaluated and harmonized at the provincial level. The objective was to prepare provincial plans with coherent programmes. These programmes were thus based on the people's real needs. Their implementation made it possible to meet such needs.

The major draw-back of the plan preparation structures was their short existence. They were set up and given fixed term mandates. They were, indeed, set up on the eve of the commencement of the preparation of the plan and ceased to exist when the plan was adopted by the National Assembly.

On the whole, despite the existence of a number of fairly well-prepared structures for popular participation in development, it was noted that such participation was poor. Two reasons explain this situation:

1. The people were requested to voluntarily adopt programmes defined by the State and, sometimes, participate in their implementation. But then doubts expressed by the people did not affect programme design. Even community development workers who worked with the people, failed to seek their opinion on their own aspirations. They met the supposed needs of the people and, sometimes, requested them to participate in providing for such needs. The population was hardly associated with decision-making.

2. The almost total lack of financial resources made it impossible for the population to participate in their own development. Since they were unable to decide, freely, the needs to be satisfied and to mobilize all the resources needed for such a purpose, the population dropped their aspiration and accepted just what they were offered.

This resulted in blunders which plunged, mainly, the rural population into pessimism and scepticism. Out of frustration, some resigned or became reticence.

However, whether dictatorial or pragmatic certain approaches made it possible for the population concerned to participate, to a greater or lesser extent in some projects.

II. AN ANALYSIS OF TWO EXPERIMENTS NEEDING INTENSIVE POPULAR PARTICIPATION

A. The project on women's participation in the economic, health and social development of Fang-Biloun

Fang-Biloun is the seat of a chieftaincy which comprises three villages: Effoufoup, Fang-Biloun, Kobdombo.

It is situated at about 180 km from Yaounde, in the Ayos sub-division, Nyong and Mfoumou Division, Centre Province. It has a population of about 1,700 inhabitants.

1. Project presentation

The population of these villages is made up of women, children and old people. Here, the women play a very important role in development, especially, in education and health. In these areas, the Ministry of Social Affairs launched in 1980, with WHO assistance, the first experimental project on women's participation in the economic, health and social development of this village. It was considered that training women in these areas would constitute an invaluable contribution to development. This project set global objectives for itself.

(a) Long-term

It sought to:

- encourage the full participation of women in decision-making and socio-economic development through primary health care;
- fight against infant mortality;
- identify and apply measures likely to improve the social, legal and economic situation of women and this for the well-being of rural families.

(b) Short-term

The project sought to:

- step up primary health care and integrated socio-economic development activities in the area;

- reduce infant mortality by encouraging breast-feeding, by fighting against diarrhoea through the use of oral rehydration salts, by training women to see to it that vaccination schedules were complied with;

- reduce the morbidity of the population through vaccination campaigns, and prevent certain diseases through health education based on environmental sanitation and hygiene.

- encourage social activities by creating possibilities for informal education in the village for men and women, and intensifying the training of women in various development sectors so as to improve their skills in the performance of their tasks;

- improve and develop appropriate technologies by training village craftsmen so as to reduce women's work load and labour, and increase the income of the community;

- integrate all these activities in the village and ensure that villagers participate in their execution.

2. Project organization and evaluation

The project relied on health committees set up a few years ago by the head of the Kobdombo modern health centre. These committees met periodically. During their meetings, community health workers educated the people on health. They submitted reports on these monthly meetings to the head of the health centre. A roving team of village health inspectors was set up to inspect homes twice a month.

In the villages, all these measures led to a change of attitude in the area of hygiene. The result was the construction of many more latrines and washrooms than there had been in the past. The women, the project's target group, cleaned the surrounding of water points on all first Thursdays and last Saturdays of the month. WHO came to their assistance by supplying agricultural implements, pharmaceuticals, a refrigerator, bicycles and money in cash to finance the on-the-job training of the first five community health workers.

The project grew very rapidly. Health committees increased from 60 to 107 and the number of health workers moved from 5 to 50. These workers were trained by the State registered nurse of the Kobdombo Health Centre which now trains all community health workers of the Division.

Government, with UNICEF assistance, has programmed the digging of twenty (20) wells. Men, women and children dig the wells and supply sand and gravel.

A WHO contribution led to the building of a village pharmacy and the training of the Kobdombo chief Nurse who did a refresher course in Mauritius.

The health sector has obtained encouraging results. For instance, mention can be made of:

- The building of a village pharmacy;
- The training of a female village co-ordinator;
- The training of seven health workers (5 men and 2 women);
- The drop in deaths caused by malaria;
- Improvement of children's nutrition (95 per cent of mothers breast feed their children);
- Development of six water points;
- The use of latrines by 30 per cent of the families;
- Co-operation with traditional mid-wives and healers;
- Improvement of homes: sun-dried bricks and corrugated iron sheets have replaced swish and thatching.

The economy relied on fishing, the most cherished economic activity of the area.

Fish can not be preserved because of the lack of refrigeration facilities. The selling of fish is limited because buyers are few. Consequently, drying remains the best solution to making this activity profitable.

Fish smoking is one specific activity that enables the women of the region to earn an income. But then women smoke fish under conditions that do not guarantee the preservation and the nutritional value of the product. The working conditions are hard: a lot of fire-wood is used, the house is watched throughout the night so as to avoid the outbreak of fires, etc...furthermore, traditional smoking capacity is rather limited.

In order to remove all these difficulties, the Ministry of Women's Affairs, MINASCOF, organized a workshop to train Fang-Biloun women in the Chorkor method of smoking fish. This method, used throughout West Africa, has the following characteristics:

- Capacity for processing 240 kg per day in a two-compartment oven;
- Homogeneous drying;
- Low consumption of wood;

- Easy handling;

- Cost price of oven affordable by women.

Furthermore, the women can do other things while the fish is smoking.

The Fang-Biloun fish smokes intend to organize themselves into a fish smoking and marketing co-operative union.

The social aspect relates to literacy. This has been made necessary by the development of the project.

Here, we are talking about functional literacy. The first programmes prepared laid emphasis on health and the management of co-operatives. One of the set objectives is to enable the adult, after training, to express himself in French and read any note explaining the use of a product bought.

In spite of the good results obtained, there still exist many problems, namely:

- women are not interested in being trained as community health workers;

- women lack information and training in the socio-economic domain;

- small scale projects are non-existent due to the lack of finances;

- the traditional pharmacopeia has been marginalised by modern medicine.

3. Lessons from the project

This project was based on the realities of the area: existence of health committees, existence of a river full of fish and fishing therein, has received no opposition; on the contrary it has given unexpected results. However, those uninvolved in the project initially, opposed it probably because of its name. Male elites within and without the area wanted to be involved but insisted on heading the project. This situation discouraged the women.

This opposition from the elites was dropped when the situation was examined during the management and co-ordination committee meeting during which eight new members, all men, who were desirous to participate in the project, joined the Executive.

B. Scan water project

1. Presentation and cost of project

Within the contest of the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade and of WHO's bid to promote health for all by the year 2000, Cameron has designed, ever since 1978, a vast village water supply programme. Its execution received assistance from the Kingdom of Denmark.

This programme covered eight of the ten provinces of the country. Studies were carried out by a Danish consultancy firm. They led to the preparation of a four-phase programme commonly known as four programmes which cover 424 stations, for a total cost of CFAF 59,000 million almost $US 200 million.

2. Technical specifications

Four contracts were signed, successively, between the Cameroon Government and the Danish Scan Water Company.

Roughly, the following technology was used: water was drawn from a borehole and pumped into a water processing station. Thereafter, the water was retained in water tanks for distribution by use of gravitational force to individuals through taps: in principle, a tap should supply water to 300 to 500 people.

3. Project execution

The three first programmes executed covered 211 village stations. They were executed solely by Scan Water technicians. All the technical equipment: pipes, metal poles, iron sheets, were imported from Denmark even though these could be manufactured locally. The execution is already facing certain difficulties, namely: the study was conducted in haste by the Danes 'perhaps it was adapted more or less successfully from a study done for another country$, for the survey of the land was inaccurate; access point were, in certain cases, more distant than provided for in the study; it was necessary to drill very deep so as to reach underground water.

Drilling was made compulsory, even if there was a possibility to harness water on the site.

Even though Cameroon has water engineers, they were not associated with the job and no technical control was envisaged. The agency in charge of water problems was invited to receive, provisionally, the project. The reception ceremony, was full of pomp and pageantry; no technician could venture to undertake any type of verification.

The programme did not provide for the maintenance of installations or the training of operators.

This vacuum led the State to consider the setting-up of a structure for maintenance. Danish engineers estimated the cost of such a structure at CFAF two billion yearly.

The State could not take up such an engagement. Rather, it signed a supplementary maintenance contract with Scan Water, costing CFAF 383 million for a duration of four months.

As was expected, 45 per cent of the installations have broken down. The State, beset by a financial crisis, cannot bear these expenses single-handedly.

The Rural Water Supply Department is surveying other possibilities for supplying water to the countryside.

4. New approach for village water supply

The Government has adopted the following strategy: rehabilitate the installations i.e repair broken down stations. These installations are to be handed over to the villagers for management. In this respect, villagers must set up a water management committee. But prior to this, administrative authorities (Senior Divisional Officers, Sub-Divisional Officers, District Heads) are to be educated. Then contracts will be signed between Government and water management committees in the villages. Such contracts will stipulate that:

- Villagers undertake to ensure the functioning of stations by supplying fuel-lubricant and chlorine; they shall also ensure routine maintenance, hence, they must have competent operators;

- the State undertake to train these operators. It shall supply spare parts and its technicians shall be handy when there is a serious breakdown.

In future, a village that wants a water point has to apply and, of course, accept all stipulated engagements.

Asked what would happen if a village already having a water supply point refused to sign the contract, the project officials stated that they had never thought of such a possibility. They said that they counted on the authority exerted by administrative authorities and the comfort, facility and health of villagers who have potable water nearby. With regard to this project, the cart was put before the horse.

5. Lessons to be drawn from the project

All people agree that the Scan Water project has failed even though it was satisfying a basic need: water. Its designers committed a gross sociological and psychological error: free water and the establishment of a technologically advanced system in the rural area: water was pumped by electric power whereas manual pumps existed, and the Danes made the use of their technology compulsory (the danger of aid with strings). People of the countryside who enjoyed free water were not at all involved in the project. When work-teams went to the villages on the basis of criteria unknown to the rural people, they did not bother about the inhabitants and, worse still, failed to ask them questions, for instance, on underground water, rainfall or the place to plant a pillar. Mention has been made above of the systematic return to well digging, a technique encouraged and imposed by the Danes even in areas where harnessing was possible or less costly.

In an area as vital as water one would have expected the beneficiary population to be fully involved but this was unfortunately not the case.

The Scan Water example is so glaring because it concerns water. But then it is not unique. The beneficiary population has neglected existing water points

as well as their access roads. Their confusion when there is no water can be imagined. The former points have been completely silted up because they have not been cleared for years and the paths have been overgrown by grass.

III. FAILURES AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

We have, systematically, presented two experiences acquired on projects with intense popular participation. One succeeded to involve most of the people benefiting from it and the other failed.

In reality, most projects did not secure the participation of the population. An examination of the causes of the failure led to a few recommendations which seek to ensure that the rural people participate more in development activities.

A. Causes of the failure

We shall consider just two since the time allotted for this paper did not allow us to interview the population.

1. Scorn of the rural population

In the urban area and mostly in the countryside project designers disregarded the rural population. They were considered more as those being assisted rather than partners in a development project. Thus, their participation in the various phases of the project was kept to the strictest minimum.

During project identification, national or international experts always came with preconceived ideas. Indeed, they went there with acquired or supposed experience of the area, to study the feasibility of a project already approved in other circles. I have some knowledge of the Cameroon hinterland because of my roots and, above all, because, for six years, I supervised social development projects amongst which were rural development and the socio-economic integration of marginalised people.

When a decision has been taken to conduct development activities for specific target groups like women or pygmies, little is done to find out their real needs. The expert, after studying the area-the first task of the animator or social worker in charge of a geographical area - identifies the people's needs. Very often, these needs exist but the search for solutions escapes those chiefly concerned right from the outset. This means the project was prepared without them and, sometimes, far away from them. Hence, projects designed to provide solutions to problems turned out to be unsuitable if not actually preposterous.

Many examples abound in water supply projects. I shall consider one of them: A community development worker in the forest area realized that despite the existence of several streams, there was a problem of potable water. In the village, there was only one point where water came out of the ground. This point was roughly developed by the villagers. The community development workers decided, for the sake of hygiene, to shelter this point. Hence, a concrete

structure was erected and a pipe installed to bring out water. Since the expression water flow did not exist in the local language, nothing was done to find out the flow of this spring nor its seasonal behaviour. The project was designed by the rural engineering technicians and was inaugurated in grand style by the Sub-Divisional Officer. But then in the dry season the pump was completely dry. Since the helpless population was unable to break the concrete, they started to drink water from brooks. No one taught them to boil the water. The result was an outbreak of water diseases hitherto unknown or less frequent in the area.

The shortage of water could have had other solutions. Talking to the people and, above all, involving them would have prevented the cementing of the spring bed, the installation of the pipe at a very high level and the sealing of the spring. A corrugated iron-sheet roof would have been better than the slab.

The expert felt, thought and acted as if the rural people knew nothing.

There are other examples in agriculture. Farmers in mountainous areas instinctively follow the mountain's gradient when making ridges. The result is that ridges are not made in square lines. The young agricultural engineer of the area saw this confusion and decided to remedy the situation. He had the ridges made in lines just as he was taught in school. The prescribed spacing was respected. The first rains carried away all the ridges. The engineer with his degree found it difficult to consult the peasant farmers on the suitability of their bent ridges.

The farmers have been deceived, very often, unconsciously, by experts. Most of them have thus been hostile to any innovation. This is a very serious situation for there can be no development without innovation.

During project execution, the people contribute through manual labour: digging trenches and supplying local materials.

At the evaluation level, they are once more forgotten. No one ever bothers to ask them whether they are satisfied or not with the project.

2. Absence of a real base

Many projects, no matter their magnitude, seem to be externally designed with no real base. Often they constitute a solution to an existing problem. But then the developing world is beset by very many problems that was all be addressed and everything is urgent. Unfortunately, there is a list of priorities that the rural people oppose and no one ever seeks their opinion.

At all levels, turn key projects have been executed. We know of turn-key factories completely designed and manufactured abroad; foreigners come to install equipment imported in its entirely; and foreigners operate the machines. If such foreigners are compelled to leave, the factory disappears along with them.

It is true that some of these factories failed even with the presence of foreigners. But this is due to other reasons.

Similarly, many turn-key projects have been implemented. NGOs which have brilliantly conducted a successful project in one desolate areas of the world want to make other poor people benefit from the same windfall. Often, they do this without the least adaptation. Last year, I received one NGO which Cameroon had approached to conduct a project on child protection. A contract was thus drafted and signed between the NGO and the Republic of Cameroon. By virtue of this agreement, the NGO and the Republic of Cameroon plan to implement in the Republic of Guinea ...Throughout the document both the Republic of Guinea and the Republic of Cameroon were mentioned.

You could not know in which country the project was to be implemented. Obviously, the NGO in question had just concluded a similar agreement with the Republic of Guinea. Instead of visiting Cameroon and trying to adapt their ideas to the realities of Cameroon, its experts merely given the same text to the secretariat, forgetting to replace Guinea with Cameroon wherever appeared. In order to save money, the plans drawn for Guinea would be used in building the project facilities even when the structures were to be built on Cameroonian soil. Nobody had thought about whether they would fit into the topography of the site in Cameroon or blend into the local architecture. What went for the buildings also went for the objectives.

Such projects are bound to fail once the foreign technical assistance is withdrawn because they neither sought the involvement or the interest of the people.

Coming from democratic traditions even in their feudal societies, Africans were traumatized by colonization which denied them any creative capabilities. This is still true, even today, was people passively accept what is imposed on them from outside and rapidly show their reluctance to participate at the least opportunity. When they have not invested anything in a project in terms of planning and financing, they are loath to go along.

B. Prospects for greater popular participation in development

In 30 years of independence, African economic development has failed. No model, whether capitalist in the Ivorian sense or socialist in the Tanzanian sense, has succeeded in securing the happiness of Africans. Today, moderate and progressive regimes alike are under the yoke of the economic crisis which is reflected by the debt burden. The continent where living was a joy (where the sunshine was reflected on the white teeth of the ebony-skinned child) has become the continent of misery and famine.

Allowing that the failure of development may have been caused in part by not involving the broad masses in the search for development, it could hardly be maintained that had the contrary been done, different results would have been achieved. Nothing indicates in one way or the other that this would have been the case. It can therefore safely be said as Pascal ventured (with African salt and pepper added) that even if the involvement of people would not necessarily lead to development, they should nevertheless participate because then, at least, they stand to gain in dignity and responsibility.

This paper will accordingly consider some future strategies as well as the place that should be accorded to popular participation in the social dimension which will determine Africa's development in the coming years.

1. Strategies

In order to elicit the people's participation in a project, several conditions must be fulfilled.

We shall attempt to develop four of such strategies relating to the involvement of those for whom projects are conducted is project profitability and harmony. New insights might emerge in reviewing the work of development committees.

a. Involvement of the people

In order to secure popular participation in a project, such participation should be elicited. This may sound a truism but it is a basic principle. It means that the experts must come down from their ivory towers and listen to the people in order to identify their needs. They must ask what type of solutions must be found to address those needs. Therefore, in preparing a project, they must involve the people in all the work needed to meet that need right from the planning stage. Whether financial or material (manual work) the contribution of the people to the implementation of the project, however modest that contribution may be, creates relationships between the project and the people and these make the people consider the project as theirs and make them prepared to defend and protect the project.

Above all, in order to enable the people to be actively involved, they should be educated and trained for it. Raising the quality of life of the people will enable them to acquire the skills necessary for transforming their environment in terms of genuine development.

When the people are better educated, better trained and enjoy good health they will become the primary and most essential development factor.

b. Project profitability

The project must bring about useful innovations that can be measured through evaluation results. And yet, in order for innovations to succeed, sight should not be lost of the fact that people who adopt innovations will evaluate the impact of the project only at their own level. The people will therefore participate, all the more as they perceive what they stand to gain in terms of material reward and labour savings or in terms of social standing and confidence. The two rewards together constitute a major asset in getting the project accepted and securing, for that reason, the enthusiasm of a greater number of the people.

c. Project harmony relative to the environment

There must be a measure of compatibility between project innovations and the cultural values in the project environment.

A project will have greater chances of integrating harmoniously into the environment if it respects the cultural values of the people. The people will be more prepared to support the project if it coincides with their values. Therefore, studies on the location of community projects should accord pride of place to the receiving environment. For example, if the project idea is to improve the consumption of animal protein, setting up a piggery in an area populated by muslims would be a non starter.

The environment therefore should incorporate innovations without disrupting the people's life style.

Consequently, the use of behavioural sciences would be needed to successfully elicit the participation of people in a development project. All donors investing in the project should strive to study, seriously, the environment in which they want to operate and avoid hasty generalizations which could stifle the originality of the people and cause them to lose interest.

d. Review of the organization of (official) development committees

The way in which development committees operate keeps them from fulfilling an essential part of their mission. When they are convened with all the media coverage involved, they devote to the general debate on local development problems most of the time they should have spent brainstorming other aspects such as the activities to be undertaken, the identification of resources to be mobilized and the specific area in which each concerned social community group should focus its activities.

Consequently, it would be advisable for the development committees to set up at each level, a permanent body responsible for doing the comprehensive work and reporting, periodically, on the results achieved.

2. The social dimension of adjustment (SDA) and popular participation in development

Since this paper did not set out to discuss the social dimension of the structural adjustment programme, it will be confined to citing the points of reference to the theme of this Conference.

Among other objectives, the SDA programme includes those explicitly formulated to promote, in the medium- and long terms, the participation of the poorest group in the economic recovery process.

In order to attain this objective, the Government plans to strengthen the process whereby grass-roots communities are participating in socio-economic development, particularly, through the creation of a community development fund.

While the creation of such a fund is commendable because it will enable the people to express their genuine needs in terms of finances to be placed at their disposal, it will be necessary to educate, inform, train and lead the

grass-roots communities so that they can use to best advantage, the financial resources and facilities provided by Government and other funding agencies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Il n'est de richesse que d'hommes has Théodore W. Schultz Bonnel. Paris Economie sans rivages 1983.

2. Fifth Five-Year Economic, Social and Cultural Development Plan (1981-1986) Ministry of the Plan and Economic Development.

3. Fourth Five-Year Economic, Social and Cultural Development Plan (1976-1981). Ministry of the Plan and Regional Development.

4. Law No. 73/15 of 7 December 1973, on the status of Co-operative Societies in Cameroon.

5. Decree No. 74/874 of 29 October 1974, to determine the application modalities of the aforementioned Law.

6. Decree No. 77/89 of 24 March 1977, to set up Development Committees.

DH

E/ECA/ICPP/90/29

UNITED NATIONS
Economic Commission for Africa

POPULAR PARTICIPATION
An NGO Perspective

by

Constantinos Berhe

LC/NAIROB

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN THE RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN AFRICA

12-16 February 1990
Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania

E/ECA/ICPP/90/29

UNITED NATIONS
Economic Commission for Africa

POPULAR PARTICIPATION
An NGO Perspective

by

Constantinos Berhe

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN THE RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN AFRICA

12-16 February 1990
Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania

INTRODUCTION

The very fact that there exists the need to discuss and come to some form of common understanding on the issue of community participation indicates to varying degrees, serious problems associated with pre-determined project ideas in development that are usually imported into vulnerable communities. Those usually result in raising promises and, more seriously, total frustration of communities to try another option.

This paper is a result of an effort to define community participation within the context of the non-government agencies and the development environment in Ethiopia. It highlights successful initiatives and some experiences gained in failed interventions.

When I was first asked to prepare a paper on "community participation - towards a common understanding" I thought of going through a cross-section of NGO projects and report on the success and experiences gained. This would have given the paper a wider base. The time I have for preparation this paper is so limited that it draws its cases largely from the Upper Awash and Chelekot Catchments Disaster Prevention Programme (UACC-DPP) and to some degree from two other projects.

UACC-DPP is a broad post-emergency intervention which aims at human and natural resources development. It is a programme that, in terms of focus and direction, was planned and set in the relief development strategy the Ethiopian Red Cross had charted out to implement a disaster management model of drought preparedness, relief action, recovery and long-term development to reduce vulnerability of famine victims in South Wollo - the base for the UACC-DPP.

Through measures encompassing environmental rehabilitation (soil water/vegetation), community water resources development, diversification of income in the household, improved tools and appropriate technology for sustainable food production and utilization, agro-forestry and enclosure, the programme deals in so many diverse ways with the improvement in the quality of life in rural Wollo and, therefore, enhancing traditional coping mechanisms with careful monitoring of the food, fuel and water crisis.

Other components of the intervention deal with the restructuring and improvement of the health delivery system, awareness generation and training in disaster preparedness and prevention, supporting the home economy through home gardens and beekeeping and changing the diet composition to include vegetables, fish and fruits.

Total development aid per capita is 17.5 birr annum for a period of five years (ERCS/UACC-DPP 1986-1).

THE DEVELOPMENT SETTING

Experience from many community projects has given way to the theoretical foundation for the thinking in sustainable development through effective community participation. We will, therefore, look into this issue to assist us later in the case analyses in popular participation and the environment that participatory development is set in.

1. Stakeholders in development

The learned and the experienced are tempted, almost always in good faith, to come up with ideas for pre-planned services in needy communities, to change the life of the poor

into some better quality of life that is not prone to disaster agents. In this process, it is very unusual to find only two partners, i.e., the community and the agency.

The reality remains that there are several stakeholders/interest groups in any intervention: first comes the beneficiaries of the project who are in principle the main actors in the whole process. Secondly, we have the agency that is directly responsible for releasing funds and governs the day-to-day work of the project. Thirdly, there are the governments that write and implement all development policies based on a specific ideology and finally the international donor system that provides the material, financial and human resources support. To complicate the situation further, we have multilateral agencies that represent donors in disbursing the funds according to specific donor requirements/agreements.

The stakeholders have their own interests to pursue and specific ideas to dictate to one of the other stakeholders in the intervention. It is amidst this struggle that participatory development has to be discussed and analyzed to create some form of common understanding.

2. Existing national policies

Policies of development, production, marketing, land tenure, taxation, privileged groups and the organization of the social structure have a big impact on the level of good-will that can be commanded from beneficiary communities. The very structure of communities, the degree and nature of private, individual and communal initiatives in increasing productivity, questions of equitable opportunities to development assistance, private co-operative marketing systems, tenure and property rights of communities/individuals/households, rights and utilization of open access and common property resources and rights of mobility and migration have significant impacts on development. (Costantinos, 1989)

Hundreds of stories could be told where policies or their misinterpretation could result in peoples' resistance to participate in their own development initiatives. A typical example of this is seen in an FTPP baseline study in Bededo PA in Ambassel, Wollo:

> "In 1982, the Bededo PA executive committee was told by the Woreda MoA office that, according to the law, all trees planted by individuals on their own land but outside the home garden, should be confiscated and made into the property of the whole PA. As a result a lot of small plantations were taken over by the PA both to generate cash and as building material. In 1988 one of the men approached higher authorities and asked that his trees be returned. The regional authorities conceded to his request and ordered the PA to return his trees." (Poluna, 1989).

3. Legitimacy of community leaders

The structure of a community can take several forms: indigenous organizational structures (tribal, religious, elected, edir, equib) political structures and mass organization who address specific sex or age group (Women's association, labour, youth and peasant associations). The most legitimate one of these structures are the most successful, so dependable and trustworthy that they can organize people for a purpose that is well-defined. Participation, therefore, assumes a very high degree of symbiotic relationship and the respect for the opinions and feelings of both beneficiaries and their

that is well-defined. Participation, therefore, assumes a very high degree of symbiotic relationship and the respect for the opinions and feelings of both beneficiaries and their supporters.

4. Flexibility of Financing Schemes

The problem that is most often associated with development workers' initiative to effectively stage the scenario for a participatory forum is the resistance of donors in providing adequate flexibility in the use of budget and the time allowed to spend it. A typical community project could take as much as four years just to negotiate the details of project implementation with the community and come up with a contract that governs the relationship between the agency and the community. Many instances could be quoted where the main concentration of project staff is the best use of funds before it 'expires'. In such a case, funds can only be 'misused' spent in unprogrammed initiatives just to show 'evaluators' that something has been done.

> A donor supported a primary health care initiative in Wollo and soon found out that the project staff were doing a series of community workshops in an effort to sensitize the communities on the nature of intervention. Auditors of the donor community came a year and half later and found out the health post has been constructed with community funds and local materials collected in the vicinity. They were told that the project has not spent any money on it, it was all a local affair. The clinic that should have been built six months back according to plan and budget was not even started since the infrastructure was not laid down to create a referral system. The auditors came up with their comments that the budget has not been strictly followed; 'but whose plans and budgets are we talking about' remarked a project officer.

5. Conservation of Natural Resources

Another important area that is of some concern in enhancing community participation is the work that is demanded of farmers and their families to undertake the task of conservation. Conserving a whole catchment unit is not an easy affair and to do any reasonable conservation work, it is important to do soil/water conservation works and revegetation treating a whole land unit. Unfortunately not all land units fall in one community. Here again the issue of the right to common access resources arises. There is no incentive for farmers to conserve the soil at the top of the catchment when they know that it is, to large extent, beneficial only to the farmers in the valley.

A. The fact that the returns from hillside conservation take a long time would not be sufficient incentive for investment even in labour and the opportunity costs become very high.

B. In a tradition where people are associated with the land, they do not usually and easily accept the fact that the land they are trying to rehabilitate is common land. They need to be given confirmation that this land belongs to them either as identified communities or individual households.

C. Conservation structures that are built in the farms (stone/soil bunds) in whatever form are very popular in the UMCC-DPP farming communities. Planting tree species in these bunds (agroforestry) also becomes a popular and established activity within farming systems once it is introduced. The fact remains that, unless people

are sure to keep the land for good and hand it over to their children. it becomes almost impossible for them to invest in any form.

D. Conservation work demands a lot of energy in earth moving and small-scale construction works. In some communities where food production is low. it is very difficult for the farmers to avail the necessary calories for such work. It is often the case that communities that have to work in intensive conservation activities also have structural food deficits: leading the way for projects like food-for-work and cash-for-work.

With such realities in the rural life. how does one go about encouraging a high degree of farmers' involvement in solving their own problems. It is this background that has created the need for a sustainable form of development which. in the longer term. could reduce the vulnerability of communities to food shortages and famine.

Issues in Sustainable Development

1. Tradition

   - Resistance to change traditions. cultures and attitudes
   - Lack of knowledge and experience
   - Ideals and ideology-diversity

Farmers needs to be articulated

2. National policies

   - Social and organizational policies
   - Property and tenure policies
   - Inflexibility

Farmers needs should be accepted as valid

3. Funds

   - Difficult to find
   - Earmarked committed in time and activity
   - Budget control

Farmers timetable. not agency's

4. Works (conservation)

   - Beyond the capacity of communities

- No motivation in the immediate future

5. Agencies

- Competetion for areas of influence
- Media needs/public relations blur objectives
- Low motivation in staff-benefits/autonomy

Source-partly taken from IRDP

6. The why and how of development aid

It is important that we understand the basic causes of underdevelopment in order to understand why many countries in the third world are threatened with famine and the unbearable quality of life their citizens are subjected to. We cannot entirely attribute the causes of this human agony to the forces of nature such as disasters much more than the failures countries have met with their socio-economic development policies and orientation of international aid.

The common understanding in the international development dialogue during the 1950s and 1960s that sustainable development can only be achieved through transfer of capital from developed to underdeveloped nations had not proved to live up to its promises. The significance given to better terms of trade and commodity grants in the 1970s could neither achieve the goal of sustainable development. Massive lending of funds for development in the 1980s have burden the new phenomenon of debt threat, which is leading to an unhappy end to the monetary era of development.

While all these have their relevance and importance in the development process, they remain to be only part of the means rather than the objective of development. This has yet, even today, to take into account the crucial aspect of the human factor in the development process. The central point of any development intervention is people, without whose potential development cannot be realized. (IFRCS 1985)

It is in this context that recent concern and frustration in supporting the ongoing development process is increasingly being oriented to different approaches that take the human dimension first and utilize the human potential that has been rendered inert by international aid for a long period of time.

Many NGOs are now involved in community-based development projects which appear to be the key to disaster prevention in the rural context. We term it "disaster prevention" because the nature of disasters in many poor nations has considerably changeed, both in terms of extent of destabilization and persistence, threatening the survival of communities. Any development intervention in this context is, therefore, a disaster prevention project, as disasters themselves are "essentially unsolved development problems". (Hasman et al 1982).

PARTICIPATION

Defining participation

What is participation? A recent rapid rural appraisal training session in the UMCC-DPP, Wollo, came up with the following consensus on the understanding of participation (ERCS, 1989):

- It is the interaction of people from different levels;
- It is a process of mutual decision-making;
- It is group-oriented;
- It is having the same goal;
- It is identifying and solving problems together;
- It is the basis for frank and open discussion;
- It is the basis for involving all concerned;
- It is changing ideas through discussion and understanding;
- It is working together.

From the above few points raised in the training session, it was concluded that participation is a high degree of democratic culture. It is not a venue for agencies to allow beneficiaries to participate in their own development but where 'outsiders' participate in local initiatives. The value of participation has been outlined in the same gathering:

- More sense of responsibility from all stakeholders;
- Success instead of failure;
- Talking with, not telling each other;
- Shared experience;
- Mutual co-operation;
- Grass-roots implementation;
- Flow of correct information.

In brief, the value of participation is to pave the way for sustainable development; it is an instrument to identify community capacities and vulnerabilities, a clear statement of the needs in a community and the cost of promises for agencies.

Measures of development

This section is not trying to deal with the whole issue of agro-ecosystem analysis but rather the indicators for monitoring and evaluating development interventions. Four major properties are outlined here:

1. Productivity: defined as the output of valued product for a FA per unit of resource input.

2. Stability: defined as the constancy of the productivity of the FA in the face of small disturbing forces arising from the normal fluctuations and cycles in the surrounding environment.

3. Sustainability: defined as the ability of a FA to maintain productivity when subject to a major disturbing force.

4 Equitability: defined as the evenness of the distribution of the productivity of a FA among its members. (FRCS/IIED, 1988)

It is important to note that maintaining a high degree of those measures will not only provide the fora for development, but also peaceful growth in a community without invoking problems of planned social change that can create privileged groups.

Step-by-step development

In an EARLY ACTION project in Hararghe which was designed to address beneficiary needs at the early stage of a slow-onset disaster, the community was requested to get organized and plan survival strategies. They got together and came up with a package proposal. It was implemented. The project succeeded in meeting its immediate objectives. Post-project evaluation showed that the intervention was clearly understood by the beneficiaries. Farmers requested the agency to assist them in other plans they have: tree planting around the homes with the provision of adequate water supply to the village.

THE AGENCY/PEOPLE NEXUS

The non-governmental agency perspective

Non-governmental agencies have taken the initiative of humanitarian support to the needy and vulnerable in many countries of the world today. They fulfil important tasks that governments and the private sector cannot accomplish. NGOs have become relief agencies, agencies of development, and more significantly they have also taken over the important task of mending the abuse on the environment and positively contributing to the conservation of world resources.

In the Ethiopian context, NGOs have played an important role in the massive relief operations of the decade, in what has been termed as the biggest peace-time logistics operations in recent history. Moreover, they have delivered food aid in a human manner with respect to all the dignities the human being demands. Further, NGOs have taken also the initiative to assist famine victims in the medium-term recovery and longer-term disaster prevention projects that are planned to reduce vulnerability to slow-onset disasters.

NGOs function at the grass-roots level and as such they have the clear advantage of delivering their promises directly to the people and often they command respect and trust of communities due to their previous engagement in emergency assistance. As the saying goes 'a friend in need is a friend indeed'. Some of the set-backs of NGOs, if they could be called set-backs anyway, is the lack of experience in development work.

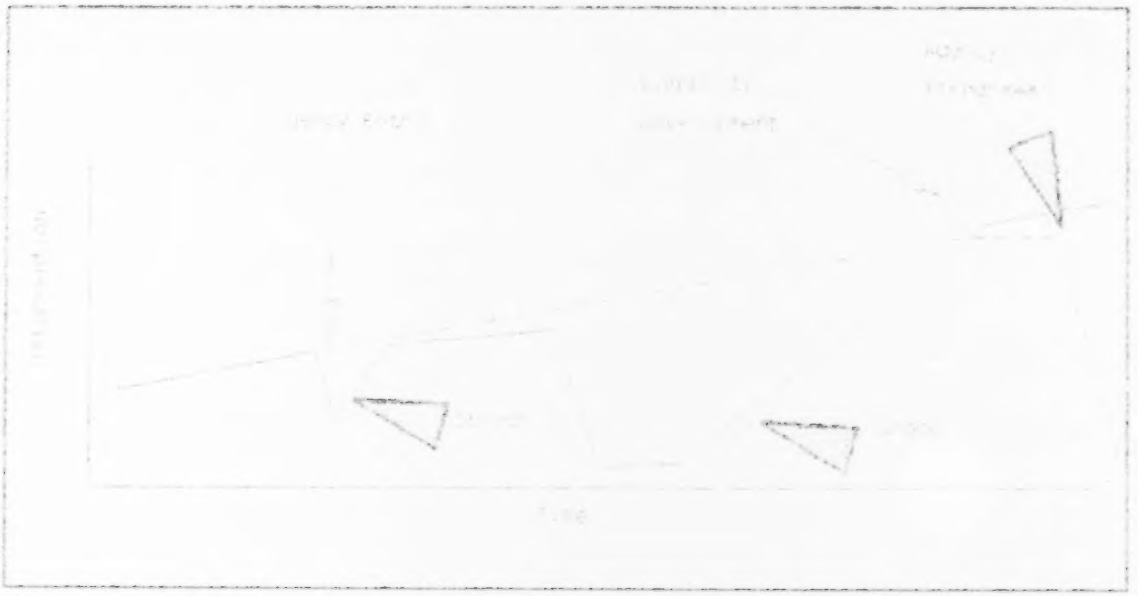

Fig. 1. Agency intervention in an ongoing socio-economic process

There is reason to believe that the lack of experience might actually be an advantage as this allows them to approach communities with the objective realities and not with preconceived ideas of the rural development package that is usually prescribed by 'development consultants' of the North. The technical know-how and the human resources component for development interventions (food production, water, health, nutrition, settlement, training, natural resources conservation and development) is relatively well developed in Ethiopia. These are services that can be, with a fair degree of success, employed within the country.

The problem comes with the approaches for the development of sustainable human livelihood. This is where private voluntary agencies have their strength, at least, in the good will they demonstrate to sincerely assist people towards development. This is the institutional experience that forms their strength, rather than the experience in the structured menu of development.

Agencies almost always intervene in an ongoing socio-economic development process, however insignificant, because development is a process of change that society goes through all the time (Alan Fowler, 1988). An almost typical intervention of NGOs is shown in figure 1. In the relief to development process, agencies intervene because of

a particular stress (failed rain or pest disease outbreak, etc.) or shock (famine, etc.). Emergency assistance is given to provide food, shelter and medical assistance. In this process, agency workers usually stress [illegible] development and recovery (forestry, agricultural rehabilitation, water [illegible] due to the emergency nature of their first intervention, they are carried away into development some succeed while others are usually dictated by prepared project documents that rarely address peoples' will. Most do not discuss the issue of withdrawal with the community and have no choice to come up with innovative community support schemes (such as an unearmarked rural development revolving fund) as they have already signed agreements with government which by and large decides on the modality of the intervention.

It is important to note here that the ideal relationship that could be forged between an agency and a community or a PA should include in its understanding:

1. Community/PA farmers inputs during pre-project period;
2. Community/PA farmers inputs during planning;
3. Community/PA farmers inputs during project implementation stage;
4. Community/PA farmers inputs during monitoring and evaluation;
5. Agency inputs during all stages;
6. A time table for agency withdrawal;
7. Initiation of a process for participatory monitoring and evaluation which take into account values of the beneficiaries, unintended effects, issues in sustainability, level of information needed - who collects and who uses it - which addresses the optimum level of ignorance and additional needs created due to the intervention (Johnson 1988).

While many agencies may be one or more of the above recipes for creating reaching understanding with communities, it is seldom that they could fully engage themselves in such agreements due to problems that emanate from the other stakeholders.

Training the key to sustainability

Many agencies in Ethiopia earmark substantial funds for the training of farmers and their development workers. The importance of training in the process of social change is thought to be the key to success. Indeed, training provides the forum for a more comprehensive understanding of the problems in rural development integrated disaster prevention. Experience in the world project has shown that training:

- encourages longer-term follow-up of projects by the beneficiary community;
- decreases the need for extensionists [illegible] development dependency on institutions and their project offices;
- plays an important role in developing sustainable structures in communities that are not aware of their problems, creating new sources of knowledge for the consumption of the rural sector.

– creates the forum for the dissemination of world experience in development, thus avoiding the need to start new research into a body of knowledge that exists already.

– becomes the main instrument for the devolution of decision making since beneficiaries will be armed with information and confidence to make viable decisions.

– can take the form of farmers workshops, meetings and other ways that encourage expression of feelings in communities and as such it stimulates people to respond to issues.

In response to this awareness some agencies such as the Ethiopian Red Cross have even gone to the extent of opening training and research centres – the Institute for Development and Disaster Studies and farmers training centre in rural Ethiopia such as the Bati Red Cross centre.

ATTITUDINAL AND MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS

The initial reaction of farmers for these interventions was varied and different. In the case of the Ambo Micro Dam, farmers said they were involved "just because they felt the work can bring food for work and, after all, they may even succeed". The dam was completed before the rains and was filled with water where a 40 hectares irrigation is going on. The contact aware community needs to see to believe.

On the resources conservation side, pilot projects soon manifested what, in land-use planning terms, are called dead areas are actually important rainy season grazing areas and where the children spend their time growing in a social atmosphere their parents have grown in. The quick recovery of the hillsides that projects promise do happen; but the problem is that local people are not even allowed to think of this land as their land. It was, therefore, imperative to include peoples' interests. After one rainy season, farmers were allowed by the PA in co-ordination with the local DA to cut grass and take it home to feed their cattle. This proved to arouse positive attitude in the PAs. (ERCS, 1986). Problems of tree tenure, however, continue to remain a serious threat to the very core of the conservation philosophy (HED/ERCS 1989, ERCS 1988).

Values

	Agency	People
1.	Community inputs	opportunity costs
2.	Soil conservation	'work for food'
3.	Trees	income/nutrition/tenure-threat
4.	Hillside closures	less grazing land
5.	Improved agricultural practices.	risks/security
6.	Target groups	privileged groups

These are few examples of values that have different interpretations by the agency and the people who benefit from the project. Participatory monitoring and evaluation assists in setting common indicators (Fowler, 1988)

Irrigation using pumps is an easier affair to deal with. Farmers see the advantage immediately except for the fear that the pump might stop any time due to problems of spare parts. In Ardibo PA, not only did members decided to allocate sufficient money for the purchase of a new pump, but contributed sufficient labour for the gravity irrigation that was being constructed and at same time earmarked the cost of maintenance for the scheme from their annual income

It is against this background that contact awareness was found to be an easier medium to reach the farmers that could not have had any pre-disposition to certain points in the intervention. Further efforts at generating awareness cleared the way for farmer-farmer contacts and meetings organized informally and at the local level.

This is not to underscore the earlier stated hypothesis that "the people of Ambassel and Kalu did not know how to solve their problems" but to show the strength of an intervention that combines practical work, 'in-service training' and models in

development with intensive community sensitization. Farmers in the PAs are well aware of the factors that have made them vulnerable to disasters; what is difficult for them to conceive is how to reverse this process and put it to their advantage (ERCS, 1986).

An Afar pastoralist who participated in an experimental irrigated agricultural and grazing development remarked at a harvest which they first collected in recent recorded history:

> "The only reason that this experiment has succeeded is because you gave us what we think was a life-saving major-food when we needed it. Next you asked us what would be the long-term solution to the recurring problem. We told you to buy us animals that we lost during the drought. You were all happy with the response. Then came the idea of irrigated cultivation which some of our own members initiated. We were not sure of this, but we believed it was a genuine thing to do. For now we have succeeded. We hope the future will hold the same promises."

The Afar was right. For the moment he had succeeded. Later, when the success story was disseminated, the other stakeholders came to put their footprints in the project.

PHYSICAL FACTORS

Besides the more important attitudinal motivational factors, physical factors play an important role in the initiation of slow-onset disaster. The loss of top soil, vegetation, and water recharge capacity of the land create the chain effect in decreasing productivity and therefore the food available in communities. Table 1 shows the resources base of the entire UMCC-DPP project area. The land use/land cover map shows that 22 per cent of the area has been declared dead area that cannot produce anything and has to be left for regeneration, while the calculated forest area is less than 1 per cent. The carrying capacity of the area has been exceeded by over 100 per cent, allowing only half the current human and animal population to be supported by it at traditional yield/hectare figures. The ever-increasing population has created an imbalance against the traditional disaster preparedness recovery process. It was the background of this physical vulnerability that resulted in the following scenario in 1985:

1. 54 per cent of the area cultivated during normal rains has not been planted, with a loss of 79 per cent of the yield; 81.44 per cent of the people had no food reserve in their homes; 56 per cent of the animals were wiped out;

2. Emergency relief and food-for-work accounted for 34.8 per cent of the household income, making 285,000 people dependent on food aid. Some migrated to sell their labour, while the unfortunate had to face a reality they have never dreamt would come (ERCS/UMCC-DPP, 1986).

Table 1 Land use by cover

Total area	Cultivation							
Km²	Int	Mod	St	Grass land	Bush & scrubs	Wood land forest	Built up area	Lakes
444 9.5	905.9	848.5	589.3	138.4	1852.9	36.3	18.8	38.2
%	20	19	13	3	42	1	0.5	1

Given this reality: what were the capacities of the people that effectively led them to recovery and development? Weren't these same factors potentially there in the 1928 drought which did not result in disaster even when the project area never received any relief? Was the food-for-work, amounting to 2 per cent of the total production of the area, a factor in circumventing the disaster or did the project successfully achieve its long-term development objectives in a very short time? Or is it the case that the in-built preparedness recovery mechanism in communities were re-instituted to save the situation from creating a disaster?

The fact remains that communities have taken the benefit of 'external' inputs (FFW and development money) to enhance their traditional coping mechanism, but a major input is their own resource. This is where the attitudinal motivational capacities discussed earlier have successfully overpowered their vulnerabilities. The people in the project have used all available physical means to create an environment of survival despite the factors that could have been 'detrimental' to participation of farmers in their own work. Telling stories such as:

- 36.4 per cent of Gobeya PA has been under soil/water conservation treatment;
- 94 per cent of Bededo PA has received conservation treatment;
- More than 12 PAs had more investment and preparedness reserves incomes between 1986 and 1989.

The list could go on. The reality remains that farmers understand their benefits from an intervention, and wisely use what they feel is relevant. They also try to discourage agencies on issues they do not accommodate in a subtle way.

> Efforts were underway to introduce Sesbania sesban in farm terraces. They were proclaimed a success in three years. In the fourth year, farmers replaced them with pigeon pea, which provides food during slack seasons. The project had to accept this reality after all the the investment

Project planning methodologies

Project planning is to be understood as an ongoing, dynamic process that has to be refined at every stage of the intervention. It is of particular importance to a successful development initiative to respond to changing realities and beneficiary needs at every stage of the implementation process.

With the context of the UMCC-DPP, the objective situation and flexibility of fund utilization has resulted in several planning and design approaches that, step by step, address a more participatory way of planning. As described earlier, the first phase planning was not all done by the beneficiaries and their direct participation has been minimal due to the disaster that had occupied the minds of all concerned (including the beneficiaries) with the logistics aspects of relief.

The agency had, therefore, to use the following approaches and sources of information to start implementation:

1. The experience that the Red Cross had gained from a decade of almost continuous relief operation and nutritional monitoring in the area combined with the big Red Cross membership among the peasantry gave it sufficient access to the communities. This helped to set up the intervention in a USAID-funded recovery/rehabilitation which was limited to the distribution of tools, seeds, fertilizers and volunteer farmers' training. At this point, a lot of data started flowing establishing the objectives for the long-term needs which led to the pilot projects.

2. Following the pilot projects, a log-frame 'consultative' planning was used where information collection and collation took place from the following sources:

   - a 5-7 per cent structured questionnaire household survey;
   - a physical resources inventory using airphotos and Landsat false colour composites;
   - direct community/official meetings and workshops in the villages.

The log-frame approach resulted in a land and water development master plan for the area and a logical sequence of problem analysis was used to establish the goal, aim and expected results of the project, broken down into 12 components of activities.

This also assisted in setting up indicators for monitoring and evaluation with the means and sources of verification.

Due to the nature of its logical analysis and generalization, the log-frame approach cannot address the problems of rural peasantry in its holistic form. Local priorities, which could have been a source of motivation/inspiration, have been relegated to secondary position. Contradictions even came up on the interpretation of, for instance, the philosophy conservation.

STRUCTURED SURVEYS

The logical framework mode of planning depends on structured surveys based on questionnaires that have been designed by a multidisciplinary group of experts. These surveys take usual trends:

1. They are too large in volume and attempt to represent the information needs of every team member.

2. Survey results and analysis are not completed in time.

3. By the time the surveys are completed, if they are at all, the information collected becomes redundant due to changes in the regional economic realities.

"The pathology of rural surveys follows common paths. Its demands are not properly estimated. At the planning stage it is easy to expand the geographical area, number of samples, question to be asked ... The outcome is excessive data to collect and therefore less likely that the data will be collected, checked, coded, processed and analyzed and less chance of ... being written up, let alone being read and acted upon". (Chambers 1983).

This is partly true in the UMCC–DPP where 50 per cent of the data collected during project planning has never been compiled and written up due to lack of time and 'computer error' that demanded the coding to be done by hand. Project staff now refer to the other 50 per cent compiled and written to be used as baseline data. This is not even of great help as the data that has been completed during the 1984/85 drought did not simply represent the attitudinal/motivational factors. Although the questionnaire used had included questions about the drought, it did not leave adequate space for people to express their feelings that would have been the case with more intimate form of data collection.

"Writing a report, then, demands casuistry. Conclusions have indeed been arrived at, but they are based on anecdote, common sense, observations incidental to the survey ... Cosmetic surgery on the body of the data improves appearances; sloppy syntax slurs non-sequiturs; concluding paragraphs assert that the data showed or proved what careful reading would show they did not show, or prove, but which may be true nonetheless". (Chambers 1983)

3. Against this background, Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) methods were introduced which involve local people in project design and implementation. Here, projects that can be implemented by the farmers are identified and the role of the multidisciplinary team is seen as that of supportive and not leading in diagnosis, design and implementation.

> RRA methodology training has been an instrument in identifying important issues in sustainable development in the project. The institutionalization of this method as an instrument of analysis is on its way now. As this approach for rural appraisal is fairly new to our country's development planners I have included a background from one of the RRA reports from the project:
>
> "Rapid Rural Appraisal has been developed over the last ten years in response to concerns over the commonly encountered pitfalls in conventional approaches for rural research and development. The term RRA has now come to refer to a wide range of techniques and methods. Indeed not all RRAs are rapid, not all are restricted to rural situations, and not all are appraisals. There are several principles that illustrate the key features of Rapid Rural Appraisal. RRA should not be thought of as a pre-set methodology in package for-instead it comprises a series of **CHOICES** for any given situation. Investigators can thus select from a **"basket of choices"** according to their needs and experience. The process is **ITERATIVE** and is modified by the team as information is progressively revealed. Insights arise because of the **MULTIDISCIPLINARY** nature of the investigatory team. RRAs encourage team members to be **INVENTIVE**, and thus there is no standard procedure. The procedure is systematic and **SEMI-STRUCTURED**, whilst maintaining flexibility and adaptability. Accuracy is achieved through **TRIANGULATION**, which involves the use of diverse methods and information sources rather than statistical replicability. Unnecessary detail is avoided through **OPTIMAL IGNORANCE**, and the key trade-offs between precision-breadth-depth-timeliness are made explicit through **APPROPRIATE IMPRECISION**. Finally it is recognized that investigators interfere, and RRAs thus attempt to make **BIASES EXPLICIT**.
>
> Rapid Appraisals can be carried out in order to provide **EXPLORATORY** information about an area, or be focused on a particular **TOPIC**. A central principle of RRAs is that they are **PARTICIPATORY**. That is they attempt to develop a dialogue with local people during the research process and that they encourage local people to be involved in the **PROCESS** of research and project planning. RRAs are therefore best carried out by and with **LOCAL PEOPLE."** **(ERCS/IIED, 1989-3)**

One essential element of RRA is that it has to be followed by implementation immediately. The UMEC-DPF has the advantage of available resources to follow up the initiative with action. In this process, however, how many donors would avail funds without going through the long approval procedures they have. NGOs can have a clear advantage here when they have the flexibility even to use relief funds for development.

4. Besides these approaches, topical issues have been investigated by specialists on issues that need further technical investigation. Titles include:

- Risks, trees and security - a base line study of a peasant association;

- Pest management
- Farmer-oriented research
- Seed multiplication and cleaning
- Horticulture studies
- Policy issues in tree growing
- Workshops on peoples participation - policy and the human dimension in rural disaster prevention
- Hillside closure management
- Towards a qualitative change in forestry
- Hydrological studies
- Initiation of a process for monitoring household food and fuel consumption
- Air photo analysis and training
- Information management systems

Information management systems

Management here does not refer to the 'Project Manager's' office. It refers to the entire process of managing the implementation of a project by all the stakeholders of the intervention. Managing information is part and parcel of the implementation process. Information on activities, socio-economic changes and impacts is an important tool in any project. All stakeholders have different needs for information. It is for this reason that an agreed information management and reporting system should be created.

Usually too much information is thought to be useful and delivered to the donor community. On the contrary, it discourages people from getting information because of the lack of clarity. On the other hand, beneficiaries receive scant information for purposes of monitoring and evaluation.

One area of interest - in this case analysis - is that several meetings with all stakeholders have come up to create a data base management system that caters for the information needs of donors, government agencies, agency Headquarters, project staff, development agents and beneficiaries.

- Donors receive quarterly financial and activity reports which highlight major works completed, problems encountered and lessons learned. Monitoring reports by donor representatives are also sent regularly and when requested.

  Reporting in foreign language is one of the most time-consuming tasks of project staff. The fact that a special monitoring team compiles monitoring

reports releases project staff to their routine work thus makes it easier to refine their intervention.

- All others receive monthly reports that contain all works done and the experience that has been gained.

- Project staff get all reports including area-specific information on design and technology which is theoretically used for participatory monitoring with communities. The last aspect has still to be developed as the level of participatory monitoring has not been encouraged by the constraints mentioned in the introduction.

The complexity of the project in terms of area coverage (5000 km2), beneficiary population (400,000 people) and 12 components of activities make information quite complicated at the donor, government and agency level. For the development agent and the beneficiaries, however, this cannot be cumbersome as they share information right from its source.

Information as a tool for participatory monitoring and evaluation

The principal means of verification for the monitoring and evaluation process is information. It is transferred to the users in the form of training and workshops to the farmers/peasants and to some degree the project staff, and in the form of reports to the other stakeholders.

Information that assists the process of diffusion of knowledge/ knowhow/feedback usually comes from the following sources that have been discussed earlier within the context of the paper in different sections:

1. Research results that have their sources within the trials of the project and farmers experience in improved agricultural practices, hillside closures, irrigation, agroforestry, hybrid quality in animal resources development, modern bee-keeping, fisheries development, settlement patterns and environmental conservation works.

2. Consultancy reports detailing/articulating specific problems and recommendations.

3. Project reports that are produced in regular intervals.

4. Surveys findings from structured and rapid appraisal investigation.

5. Outside information-meteorological, policy, funding, and regional economic data such as marketing and environmental concerns that are beyond the 'borders' of the community. Useful visits from policy-making bodies also provides an opportunity for farmers to present some of their queries.

4 MANAGING INFORMATION FOR DIAGNOSIS AND DESIGN

Different stakeholders have specific information needs that cater to their interests as mentioned earlier on the information distribution of the case we have seen in the UMCC-DPP. The most important one is the feedback that is provided to the beneficiaries

to assist them in monitoring and evaluation. We have already raised the importance of articulating the expressed/felt needs of farmers. It is equally important that farmers achievements be articulated into comprehensible reports that could be used to create further understanding of the software aspect of the intervention. This is a fundamental point of departure if farmers are going to come up with innovative designs of their own.

For this purpose an information system development is crucial. The collection, compilation and utilization of information can take the following milestones:

A. Acquisition, compilation, storage and retrieval of information.

B. Information flow to the different stakeholders.

C. Dissemination on new technology transferred to the community and the institutionalization of the same in daily project work.

D. Information for trouble shooting (Raintree 1988).

2. COMMUNICATION CHANNELS

A, B and D of the above can be structured within the information system with a fair degree of ease. The dissemination of new technology and diffusion of this technology/research finding, however, needs to be well defined in space and time. The methodology could take several forms. As I said earlier, in need aware communities who have been pre-disposed to the specific type of technology in question, verbal transfer of the innovation could serve the purpose.

In other cases where contact awareness is expected to play the major role, the communication between the researcher/project expert and the farmers working together as a change agent/prime mover do not only take a two way contact but one with three ways contact, where they both exchange information with the technology itself (Raintree 1988).

> "In building it and modifying what they have built they transfer information from their minds to the material world outside, increasing its negentropy or information by structuring formless matter into artifact with form and function. If we think of this as input, then the output is the information received when contemplating the technology. The creation of such artifact has the element of feedback and may be thought of as an extended dialogue ... The use of technology itself as a medium of communication can be extremely important when, for some reason, direct verbal communication is difficult. Communication about emerging technology can, therefore, be accomplished by 'showing' rather than 'telling' or 'explaining'." (Raintree 1988)

The communication medium is, therefore, not a prescribed form of knowledge transfer but specific to the prevailing cultural, attitudinal and traditional values which people follow and understand.

> As this paper was under printing a new directive that will strengthen forest development in general and community forestry in particular has been issued by the MoA. The context of this directive is set in providing communities the right to development and utilization of forests in their vicinity. It will

undoubtedly, have a big impact on the possibilities for the mobilization of the rural/urban poor to protect, manage and wisely use forest resources as this was one of the most significant hurdles to the fair distribution of the benefits of growth. (MoI Letter No. 89-525-69-119, Dec. 10, 1989).

DISCUSSION

Participatory culture is not something that agencies of development and environment can impose on people. It may impose because many societies have values they have lived with for centuries, long before development and started Freaking. This can not be changed in a short period of time. Education and human resources development at the grass-root level is a necessary precondition for successful intervention that should be sustainable in the long run with minimal inputs from outside.

From the case studies that we have seen above, there tried to be brilliant successful interventions despite the inherent problems stated earlier. This setting, however, is misleading if we see it only from one perspective. The communities that have been presented have gone through disasters not be ever thought possible. The need to overcome this series of disasters is most apparent here than in communities that live in abject poverty but do not experience the horrors of mass death and migration.

Important lessons have been learned from the case histories presented here. Problems have been confronted at every stage of the intervention. Major problems are still being tackled and addressed at every front that is available. Some of the problems however will remain unsolved as long as the situation that created them still exists. In connection with this it would be done a disservice to the power of the unbridled system discussing some of the pertinent issues in sustainability today.

1. The unfortunate need of prescribed development has become an unfortunately kind that at times means people sacrifice if it is worth participating.

2. Some [illegible] have become so dependent on development that even if it is small that were [illegible] started ongoing schools such, it is not unusual to see agencies fighting for areas of influence in some communities.

3. The withdrawal of agencies from a certain area, as stated earlier is a necessary condition to ensure sustainability. This relationship with many agencies and people will perpetuate their presence in communities to keep themselves employed.

4. The emphasis on a shortfall inputs in project development is the most costly part of the process when delivered. True, some inputs are an important part of the intervention, but often it is proved that they were not necessary.

Big tree nurseries and [illegible] component of forestry programmes. They look like oasis of greenery in the devegetated landscape that are the targets of the forestry interventionists. If we [illegible] the roots, the kind of management structures that are laid down, one can correctly the amount of forest will that one to be delivered to these nurseries and the survival rate one would logically think that peasant nurseries managed by local people and seeded with material selected by the farmers themselves are a more sustainable alternative.

7. Development is a process of change but a slow one. This concept has been proved the hard way in the cases we have seen. Donors and policy-makers are impatient. They are ambitious, they want to see quick results and they always like to hear what they feel is right.

> Interventions therefore, create their own contradictions at every stage and it is the resolution of the contradictions that makes development a worthwhile challenge.

8. On a final note, I would like to briefly deal with the issue of relief-development that is in vogue in NGO circles. Many agencies implement a relief action and then move to disaster-prevention programmes which are independently planned, due to reasons well out of their control. Disaster responses should be actions that are closely co-ordinated in a continuum.

Disaster preparedness, relief action, rehabilitation, recovery and disaster prevention are all looked at as unilinear, independent and mutually exclusive projects/programmes, while from the outlook side, the relationship between all forms of disaster response can and should be seen to be dialectical in nature. One can, in other words, address the issue as new development forms structures growing out of (or negating) the old in a process of developmental change (Constantino, 1988).

In this continuum a high degree of beneficiary involvement is required because agencies have neither the capacity nor the qualification to essentially that the process always take its natural course.

REFERENCES

Cuthman, A., in Anderson M.B. and Peter Woodrow (1989). RISING FROM THE ASHES, DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES IN TIMES OF DISASTER. Westview Press. UNESCO. Boulder, San Fransisco, Paris.

Chambers, R. (1983). RURAL DEVELOPMENT, Putting the last first. Longman. New York.

Costantinos Berhe. (Dec. 1984). PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF DISASTER PREPAREDNESS AND PREVENTION MEASURES. Paper presented to the National Conference on a Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Strategy for Ethiopia. Addis Ababa.

Costantinos B. (1989). POLICY AND THE HUMAN DIMENSION IN RURAL DISASTER PREVENTION. Draft for publication.

ERCS (1986). UPPER MILLE AND CHELEKA CATCHMENTS DISASTER PREVENTION PROGRAMME Vol. I, II, II. ERCS. Addis Ababa.

ERCS. (1985). PROCEEDINGS OF THE DISASTER PREVENTION SYMPOSIUM. ERCS. Addis Ababa.

ERCS/IIED (1988). RAPID RURAL APPRAISAL, A CLOSER LOOK AT LIFE IN WOLLO. IIED. London.

ERCS/IIED (1989). PARTICIPATORY RAPID RURAL APPRAISAL IN WOLLO, ETHIOPIA. Peasant Association planning for natural resources management. IIED Sustainable Agriculture Programme. London.

Fowler, Alan. (May 1988). EVALUATING DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS: TOWARDS A COMMUNITY BASED COMPARATIVE EVALUATION. AFMEMP Workshop. Kisumu. Kenya.

Hagman, Gunnar et al. (1982). PREVENTION IS BETTER THAN CURE. The Swedish Red Cross Society. Stockholm.

Johnson, Kristen. (May 1988). SOME THOUGHTS ON FARMER EVALUATIONS. AFMEMP Workshop. Kisumu. Kenya.

Raintree, J.B. (May 1988). FACTORS TO CONSIDER IN DEVELOPING INFORMATION SYSTEM FOR AGROFORESTRY EXTENSION PROJECTS. AFMEMP Workshop. Kisumu. Kenya.

Abbreviations and acronyms

DA	–	Development agent
USAID	–	United States Agency for International Development
MoA	–	Ministry of Agriculture
NGO	–	Non-government organization
PA	–	Peasant Association
PC	–	Producers co-operative
SC	–	Service co-operative
ERCS	–	Ethiopian Red Cross Society
IIED	–	International Institute of Environment and Development
UMCC	–	Upper Mille and Cheleka Catchments Disaster Prevention Programme
FTPP	–	Forests, Trees and People Programme (SIDA/FAO)
IRDP	–	International Relief Development Project (Harvard)